4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

From a plant called *madi* they obtain a sweet oil, considerably used in their cooking. 262 252

The immense forests supply them with innumerable fruits and berries, used both for food and for the manufacture of fermented liquors, and also with edible fungi which form a favourite article of diet. The open plains provide them with the wild strawberry (*fragaria chilensis*), small but of exquisite flavour. This plant frequently covers square leagues of ground, but never grows except on virgin soil. But the great staple food, the base of all their subsistence, save among the coast tribes, was the *piñon*, the fruit of the Araucanian pine (*Araucaria imbricata*). 262 222 [137] [137]

Every year during the autumn months excursions are made by the whole tribe to the pine forests, where they remain until they have collected sufficient for the following year. Each tribe has its own district, inherited by custom from generation to generation and inviolate, by unwritten law, from other tribes, even in time of warfare. [423]

This harvest was formerly of such supreme importance, that all inter-tribal quarrels and warfares were suspended by mutual accord during this period. [726]

The Araucano had always a good supply of flesh and fowl, especially the latter. Among the wild animals used for food were the *huemul* (*cervus chilensis*), the *pudu* (*cervus pudu*), the guanaco, and the *pangi* (*felis concolor*). 224 136

The birds were more numerous and included the *vudu* or partridge, pigeons, doves, parrots, numerous kinds of duck, *bandurria*, *peguen* or wild geese, wild swans, plover, etc. The coast tribes lived principally on fish and various kinds of shellfish. 223 136

In modern times they have cultivated maize and *frejoles* (beans), introduced by the Incas, wheat, barley, rye, potatoes and other crops, while their food supply has been greatly increased by the introduction of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry. 241 231

To this abundance of comestibles is to be ascribed the warlike tendencies of these Indians, who not having to give much heed to their food supply, the fertile soil producing it spontaneously almost everywhere, could indulge freely in the luxury of continual warfare. This also gave them an enormous advantage over the Spaniards in their long campaigns, as the latter were almost entirely dependent on their baggage trains or provision supplies, while the surrounding country catered to the wants of their indomitable foes. 721

As a condiment they use the *aji* or Chile pepper; salt was obtained from the numerous saline deposits found throughout the country, while flavour was given to their dishes by the employment of wild thyme and wild mint. 263

Their food is usually cooked in earthenware pots, but many kinds of flesh are roasted, or broiled. 252

The cooking is done by the women, each wife cooking for her own family and taking it in turns to cook for the husband. Each wife has her own fire and cooking utensils.

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Spanish strength. Before its foundation the Spaniards posed a transient threat, but after it began to serve as a springboard for trans-Biobío conquest and settlement the Indians better understood the consequences involved. With alarming speed the Spanish moved southward, through the provinces of Arauco, Catiray, Tucapel, Purén, and Marigueño, coming to a temporary halt at the Calle-Calle River. This entire area, bordered on the west by the sea and on the east by the camino real (the easiest passage through the central valley), was divided in encomienda, Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén being retained by Valdivia as the basis of a princely estate.[11] These provinces, especially Arauco, were highly prized by the Spaniards as the most heavily populated of the whole kingdom, and as possessing an abundance of food stuffs, fine lands, and a most provident climate.[12]

Within this area the Indians lived in small, decentralized kinship groups, with no apparent inter-group relationship of an institutional nature. The sources of the sixteenth century are so meagre as to preclude the possibility of clear understanding of the socio-political divisions within the individual group. The local clusters of dwellings, in early chronicles called *levos*, in later ones *reguas*, composed a larger unit known as the *allaregua* (or *aillarewe*). Each allaregua was composed of nine or less levos. Olaverría, writing in 1594, describes this area as consisting of only five allareguas, but the context in which he mentions them suggests that this semi-centralization was of relatively recent origin.[13] There is no factual basis for postulating anything but a crude kinship relationship, markedly particularized by geographical isolation, at the time of the Spanish arrival.

These people, albeit ready warriors, were soundly defeated by Spanish arms and remained so for almost four years. Subsequent events, the revolt against Governor Valdivia in December, 1553, and the continuing War of Arauco, indicate quite clearly that this short peace was a period of Araucanian maturation. Through military action, service in encomienda, and free intercourse in the Spanish towns (Concepción, Imperial, Valdivia, and Villa Rica) they observed and learned much about Spanish military organization and strategy, government, social custom, mores, and religious concepts. The lessons they learned were adequately demonstrated in subsequent resistance against the invaders.

This initial period of communication with Spanish culture was constantly amplified throughout the following century. Military action was usually confined to the summer months. During harvest time and winter both Indians and Spaniards tended to refrain from active combat, holding what had been gained and preparing for summer campaigns. Through peaceful Indians, those serving the

11 Olaverría, p. 20.
12 Marmolejo, p. 27; Pedro de Valdivia to King, Sept. 25, 1551 (Gay, I, pp. 139-142).
13 Olaverría, p. 21.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Spanish, the rebels kept themselves fully informed of all Spanish activity. Never lacking information, the Indians always had a precise idea of Spanish strength or weakness. There was seldom a rigid military perimeter; in those areas where the invader could maintain a fort and military supremacy the Indians were reduced to servitude. With a weakening of Spanish strength, rebellion inevitably occurred, so that the distinction as a peaceful or warlike Indian depended largely upon the state of affairs of the moment. Because the Indians so frequently changed roles, they were never out of personal contact with the Spanish.

The Indians received some aid and encouragement from Spanish deserters. There is no telling how many deserted to enemy ranks in the course of the sixteenth century, but in the year 1600 alone it is known that there were over sixty desertions.[14] A good many of these renegades were still living among the Indians in 1607.[15] In fear of peace and subsequent retribution, the traitors taught the Indians many things that would have been difficult for them to learn themselves, such as the proper use of firearms, building of forges and ironmongering, and even the techniques of political administration. The Spaniards were greatly perturbed when a mestizo powder-maker went over to the other side. With volcanic sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal in abundance, the Indians could make deadly use of the large stores of field pieces and firearms which they had captured. As luck would have it, the deserter repented and returned to the Spanish fold, whereupon he was forgiven and permitted to return to Peru. There were also clerical renegades who apostatized and urged the Indians on in their own religious beliefs and practices.[16]

It is most important to understand that the motive for Araucanian observation of Spanish cultural forms was not to emulate them and thereby raise the level of their own, but to discover Spanish weaknesses and to mobilize Araucanian strength for forceful opposition. A fundamental weakness of Spanish occupation was its dire need of peace. Exploitation of this weakness became a cornerstone of Araucanian strategy throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. Spanish forces, both civilian and military, were too few and too widely dispersed, and the line of supply from Peru was much too long. Effective occupation and permanent settlement depended upon a guaranteed supply of Indian labor. This, of course, was in turn dependent upon total pacification, which would allow the colonists to concentrate on development of mining and agriculture rather than military defense. As experience in Mexico and Peru had shown, a mere handful of soldiers,

14 Encina, vol. 2, p. 386.

15 Ibidem, p. 117.

16 Ibid., pp. 117-122, 149-150, 69, 73-75. In spite of Spanish fears, firearms did not play a significant role in Indian strategy until late in the seventeenth century.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

622 lead in its performance. Another was to maintain and enforce order in his lofche. It was within his rights to hang an illicit paramour; the parents of the girl concerned had the right to take the girl's life. If a cacique's wife had an affair with another man, the cacique could order the man hanged.

622 628 The most common breach of order was stealing from another lofche. An old man explained: "Formerly there was seldom any stealing among the people who lived under the same cacique; if there was, it was brought to the attention of the cacique, and he ordered the stolen thing returned. But it was not at all uncommon for the people under one cacique to steal from those under another. When this happened the caciques of the two lofche got together on the matter, and the people expected that the thief would be made to return the stolen thing. But I recall instances when nothing was done about it."

622 ● 726 A cacique also had the duty of leading his men in time of war. Regarding battles between lofche, Kolupan noted that many lofche had lanceros—that his father had fought under their cacique, Chenkenyo, as a lancer, and that there were usually several hundred lanceros to each formation. Lances were cylindric stalks tipped with arrowheads. Arrowheads were made of red, black, or transparent white flint. The white flint was thought "to have dropped from above." When lancers noticed that the enemy was wearing clothes made of horned pelts, they aimed at the mouths of their opponents, as arrowheads could not pierce horned hides. Sometimes arrowheads on lances were poisoned, a thing Chenkenyo would not allow; he would say that only despicable people used them. Poisoned arrows could not be pulled from the flesh, and they caused a slow death.

[411] [423]

622 648 726 Kolupan went on to tell that a cacique also led his men in attacks on the Whites: "Sometimes a cacique and his men made an attack on Argentine soldiers, killed some of them, and then fled immediately into hiding in the Cordillera—our people lived on the pampa then. The soldiers tried to find them; but this proving futile, they returned to their base. The cacique and his men then returned to their homes on the pampa. Sometimes, however, the soldiers caught up with our people, and there was a terrible massacre on both sides. Later the Argentine cavalry came, and we had to submit; we could not fight it. From then on we have had to obey orders. I recall how the soldiers sent us to cut wood for them—but they paid us for it. The soldiers did not treat us too badly, but we were better off by far before the White people came. We had our own way of living and our own rules then. We had no written laws, but we had caciques, and they knew the rules we did have." A lanceing-in woman in her eighties added,

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

this instance to belief and associated action) may be studied, and, given a greater commitment to this interest, a number of rather precise ways of measuring could be applied.

In a preliminary way, I would suggest that an analytic distinction be made between cultural (for present purposes, mainly ideological) changes and social (i.e. institutionalized action) changes, and that there might also be a need, on occasion, to distinguish between structural and organizational aspects of constancy and change. Among other advantages, such distinctions would enable the observer, not to mention the reader, to evaluate the relation between culture and society, which would be an improvement over the notion that society is a part of culture and that social phenomena are adequately treated as cultural traits.

Another basic distinction should be made between changes of radical departure from Mapuche tradition and those consistent with the limiting framework of Mapuche institutions and values. This distinction would seem helpful in the clarification of concepts such as "breakdown" and "transition." I am convinced that such distinctions are possible or may be made most fruitfully only following a structural-functional analysis of society and a systematic consideration of cultural values.

II

Religious belief and ritual seem prone to change in a manner consistent with other changes in social structure. This says nothing about the rate of change with respect to either belief or action; but it pays more than lip service to their functional relationship.

Mapuche society has certainly undergone substantial changes if one compares the warring era to the reservation period. Peaceful conditions were established after the rebellion of 1880–81, and the reservation system went into effect after 1884. It might be said that field agriculture replaced warfare as the main occupation of men and, as a result of various circumstances (by no means a direct result of a commitment to agriculture), the Mapuche find themselves on the fringe of a regional market-oriented economy.

The elementary-family household is emerging or has already

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 721

the Rio Negro settlements is simply that cattle and horses hardly exist in sufficient numbers to reward a foray on a large scale. Small parties sometimes come in, as in the case described, when the horses were taken from the 'China Muerte,' the estancia of Mr. Fraser's neighbour; but these are rather robberies than hostile invasions—indeed no important raids have occurred since the time of Lenquetrou, who united all the Indians for the purpose, and swept the valley in a raid which, it may be remembered, was described to me by Gravino, a participator in it, at Inacayal's toldos, near the Pass of the Rio Limay. The settlers were naturally anxious to know my opinion as to the probable safety of the Rio Negro, and I assured them that, from what I knew, there was little chance of a raid, but that, on the contrary, Bahia Blanca was sure to be attacked, and I especially warned one of our countrymen who was on his way to Bahia Blanca not to hazard himself by settling outside the town at the present juncture. Englishmen are apt to suppose that because they possess good weapons, rifles and revolvers, and are able and ready to use them, they can resist an Indian attack; but the whole system of their warfare consists in sudden surprises. They secretly collect their forces, and waiting at a safe distance during the night, come in at the early dawn; and perhaps the unsuspicious settler, going to the corral or looking for his horses, observes in the distance what appears to be a troop of horses, driven, according to custom, by one or two mounted men; these approach unchallenged, but in a second every horse displays an armed rider, shouting his war-cry. They then spread out, as if to encircle the game, thus presenting no front to the rifles of their opponents, and dash down lance in hand; and whilst some secure the animals, others set fire to the dwellings and carry off the women—if there are any—captives. In some cases they kill the men, but generally only when much resistance is offered.

T A 726

Although their chief object in warfare is to carry off cattle

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

and captives, the Indians will at all times fight desperately, regardless of odds, and show little or no fear of death; and the survivors will never leave their wounded or killed on the field. The Indians in the service of the Government, mustering about fifty lances, and residing chiefly on the south side, are commanded by a man named Linares, previously mentioned as living at San Xaviel; he receives the pay and rations of an officer in the army, of what rank I do not know, and all his men regularly receive pay and rations. These are supposed to act as gendarmerie; but although Linares and his four brothers are probably to be depended on, I doubt very much if the rank and file could be trusted to remain true to their colours in the event of a united raid taking place, such as that organised by Lenquetrou.

They have all acquired, by their lengthened residence in the neighbourhood of bad characters, a rowdy, swaggering disposition not generally, according to my experience, common amongst uncivilised Indians; and frequent losses of cattle occur to people settled on the south side, no doubt attributable to these dubious allies and defenders.

Between San André and Carmen the winding course of the river twice approaches and recedes from the barranca, forming two successive wide alluvial plains, partly settled and partly in natural pasture, in one of which a mill turned by water-power was at this time in course of erection, the existing corn-mills being cumbrous, old-fashioned affairs worked by horses.

The barranca then abuts on the river, except in one place, where there is a farm and wharf used for loading salt, forming a cliff close to the river bank as far as Carmen. Above this farm and wharf an old fort, apparently untenanted, and armed with one gun, is situated; and away to the north-east, in an indentation in the plain, lies a large salina from which the salt is extracted.

From the immediate neighbourhood of this fort a fine view of the valley below presented itself: right in front, or

3Garcilaso de la Vega I-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
SE13 Inca
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some deep gorge, must have been crushed by a piece of 648
rock; and this version was received by all. For, judging by all former experience of the power of the Indians, it could not be credited that the Spaniards had fallen in battle. While the people in Peru were thus confused, some further tidings arrived after sixty days, with a full account of the death of Valdivia and his men, and of the last battle he fought with the Indians. I will quote from the news as it was then brought from Chile. Having mentioned the rising of the Indians and their insolent conduct, the account continued as follows:—

"When Valdivia arrived where the rebel Araucos were, 726
he found twelve or thirteen thousand of them, with whom he had several desperate encounters, in which the Spaniards were always victorious; and the Indians were so disheartened by the charges of the cavalry that they would not come out in the open plain, for ten horsemen would scatter a thousand Indians. They remained in the hills and woods, where the horses could not master them, and thence they did all the mischief they could, refusing to listen to any terms that were offered to them, and obstinate in their determination to die rather than be servants of the Spaniards. Thus the two sides remained for many days. These evil tidings spread each day into the interior of the Arauco country, until they were told to an old captain who had been famous in their wars, but was now retired to his own home.[1] He came out to see what wonder was this, that one hundred and fifty men could hold in check twelve or thirteen thousand warriors. This he was unable to believe, if these Spaniards were not devils or immortals, which the Indians thought at first. In order to undeceive himself on these points, he desired to join the war, and see what passed with his own eyes. He reached the top of a hill, whence he had a view of both

[1] The story is not told in this way by Ercilla; but the old chief of the text appears to have been the Caupolican of the *Araucana*.

Garcilaso de la Vega 1-6 (tr. 1869) 1871
3E13 .I6G3
RARE Aa1 Mab 564

provinces, the line of his own people widely extended, and that of the Spaniards small and compact. He was considering for a long time what could be the cause that so few men could conquer so many. Having closely examined the situation, he repaired to the camp of his countrymen and called a Council. After long discourses on the events that had taken place up to that time, he asked these questions, among many others.

"Are the Spaniards mortal men like the Indians, or immortal like the Sun and Moon? Do they feel hunger, thirst, and fatigue? Have they the necessity for sleeping and rest? In short, he asked whether they were made of flesh and blood, or of iron and steel? He asked the same questions respecting the horses. Having been told that they were men of the same appearance and habits as the Indians, he explained: Let all now rest, and to-morrow we will see who are the best men, the Spaniards or ourselves. With that the Council broke up, and at the first appearance of dawn next day he ordered a call to arms, which was sounded with much greater shouts and noise of trumpets, drums, and other like instruments, than was usual. He armed thirteen squadrons of a thousand men each, and formed them in a thread, one behind the other."

CHAPTER XXII.

A BATTLE ON A NEW PLAN, AND WITH WARLIKE STRATAGEM, CONDUCTED BY AN OLD INDIAN CAPTAIN.

The Spaniards came forth on hearing the shouts of the Indians, splendidly armed, with great plumes on their heads and on those of their horses, and with many handsome lances with bells. When they saw the divided squadrons,

3Garcilaso de la Vega I-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
SE13 Inca
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they thought less of their enemies, as it seemed to them that they could more easily scatter many small squadrons than one very large body of men. The Indian captain, seeing the Spaniards in the plain, said to the men of his first squadron, "Go, my brothers, and fight with the Spaniards. I do not say you will conquer them, but do your best for your country, and when you can do no more, fly, and I will succour you. But when you of the first squadron fly, do not mix with the second, nor the second with the third, but retire behind all the other squadrons, when I will direct what you should then do." With these orders the old captain sent his men to fight the Spaniards, who attacked the first squadron, and, though the Indians did what they could in their defence, they routed them. They also scattered the second, third, fourth, and fifth squadrons with ease; but not so easily but that many on their side were wounded, and some killed, men as well as horses. 726

The Indian captain, as the first squadron fell back defeated, sent the others forward to fight, in their order. And in the rear of the whole army he had a captain who formed new squadrons out of the fugitive Indians, each of a thousand men, whom he ordered to be supplied with food and drink, and to rest until their turn to fight should come again. Having defeated five squadrons, the Spaniards looked out to observe how many remained, and they saw another eleven or twelve before them. They had now fought for more than three hours; nevertheless they cheered each other on, and charged the sixth squadron and routed it, as well as the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth. Yet neither they nor their horses were as fresh as at first, since they had fought for seven long hours without ceasing for a moment. The Indians never gave them rest, one squadron having scarcely been defeated before another came to the attack, and the routed men fell out of the battle to rest and form themselves into new squadrons. It was then that the

Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 [ca. 1555] 1871
SR13 [illegible]
Appendix [illegible]54

Spaniards saw that their enemies still had ten squadrons ready to fight; yet, with indomitable courage, they proposed to renew the conflict, though they were worn and tired, both men and horses. Yet they continued the battle with as much vigour as possible, that their weakness might not be seen by the Indians. But the Indians, from hour to hour, recovered their strength, while the Spaniards were losing it; for they felt that their enemies no longer fought as they did in the beginning, or even in the middle of the day. Thus the two armies continued until two in the afternoon.

Then the Governor Pedro de Valdivia, seeing that there were still eight or ten squadrons to scatter, and that, though this were achieved, the Indians continued to form new ones; and considering that, in this new way of fighting, judging from the small respite there had been during the day, neither would there be rest at night; it seemed well to retire, before the horses were quite worn out. His intention was to retreat to a narrow pass, which he had left about a league and a half in his rear, and he thought that if that point could be reached, he would be safe, as there the Spaniards, on foot, could defend the pass against the whole army of the enemy.

Having taken this resolution, though tardily, he called to his men, and said that they were to retreat gradually to the narrow pass. This they did, forming in close order, and retiring little by little, with their faces always to the foe, but more with the intention of defending themselves than of attack.

2:Garcilaso de la Vega I-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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CHAPTER XXIII.

THE INDIANS GAIN THE VICTORY, THROUGH THE TREASONABLE ASSISTANCE OF ONE OF THEMSELVES.

At this moment an Indian who, from a boy, had been 726
brought up by the Governor Pedro de Valdivia, named Felipe, his Indian name being Lautaru, a son of one of their chiefs (in whom the love of country was stronger than the faith he owed to his God and his master), hearing the Spaniards calling to each other to retreat, and knowing their language from having been brought up amongst them, and fearing that his relations would be satisfied at seeing the Spaniards retreat, and that they would allow them to retire unmolested, left the Spanish ranks;[1] crying, "Do not be faint-hearted, my brothers; these thieves are now flying, and they set their hopes on reaching the narrow pass. Think, therefore, of what is needful for the freedom of our country, and the death and destruction of these traitors." Saying these words, to animate his own people, he took up a lance from the ground and stationed himself at their head, to fight against the Spaniards.

The old Indian captain who had adopted these new tactics, seeing the road taken by the Spaniards, and hearing the warning of Lautaru, understood what the enemy intended to do, and ordered the two squadrons which had not yet been engaged, to march with speed and diligence, and by short cuts, and occupy the narrow pass which the Spaniards wished to reach, and to remain there until they were joined by the rest of the Indians. Having given this order, he advanced with the remaining squadrons in pursuit

[1] *Araucana*, Pte. I, Canto III. According to Ercilla, the Araucanos, and not the Spaniards, were on the point of retreating, when they were rallied by Lautaru.

3.Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1565) 1871
SK13 Inca
ARAUCANIANS 564

726 of the Spaniards, every now and then sending fresh companies forward to engage them, and prevent them from getting any rest. This was also done that the Indians who were fatigued with fighting might retire from the conflict and refresh themselves for renewed efforts. In this way they followed and pressed upon the Spaniards, until they reached the narrow pass, killing some, and never ceasing to fight for a moment. When they reached the pass it was near sunset. The Spaniards, on seeing that the pass was occupied and guarded by the enemy, gave up all hope of escaping death, and, in order to die like Christians, they called upon the name of Christ our Lord, of the Virgin his Mother, and of the Saints for whom they felt most devotion.[1]

The Indians, seeing that the Spaniards were so tired that neither they nor their horses could do more, rushed upon them, as well those who had pursued as those who guarded the pass, and gave the horses and their riders as many wounds as they could inflict on all parts of their bodies. They hurled them on the ground, and killed them with all the rage and cruelty they could show. They took the 727 Governor Pedro Valdivia, and a priest who accompanied him, alive, and fastened them to poles until the fight was over, intending to settle what should be done with them, at their leisure. Thus far I have given the substance of the second report that came from Chile to Peru touching the defeat and death of Valdivia, as soon as it happened, and sent by the friendly Indians who were present in the battle. Three of these escaped, having hid themselves in some bushes, during the darkness of the night; and when the Indians assembled to celebrate their victory, they came out of their hiding-place, and as men who knew their road, and were more loyal to their masters than Lautaru, they

[1] The manœuvre of the narrow pass does not form a feature in Ercilla's description of the battle.

3;Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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He exclaimed:—"Shame upon you for being so imprudent as to believe the words of a vanquished and bound slave. Tell me! will not a man in that position promise anything? But will he fulfil his promise when he is free?"

Another story respecting this death was told by a Spaniard named Francisco de Rioros, a native of Truxillo, who was then a captain in Chile, where he possessed Indians. He came to Peru soon after the disaster, and said that the Indians passed the night after their victory in dancing and great festivity. During each dance they cut a piece out of Pedro de Valdivia, and another out of a priest who was tied up near him, and ate the pieces before them. While this cruelty was enacting, the good governor confessed his sins, as also did the priest, and at last the torments of both were ended. It may be that, after that captain killed the governor with a club, he was eaten by the Indians, not because it was their custom to eat human food—for these Indians never do so—but to show the rage they felt against him for his great deeds and for the many defeats he had inflicted upon them.

From that time they adopted the plan of forming in many separate squadrons to fight against the Spaniards, as is described by Don Alonso de Ercilla, in the first canto of his *Araucana*.[1] The war was kept up for forty-nine years,

[1] But the executioner is there said not to have been the leader Caupolican, but a barbarous chief named Lecoto.

Hacen en campo y muestranse en forma
Escuadrones distintos, muy enteros,
Cada hila de mas de cien soldados,
Entre una pica y otra las flecheros
Que de lejos ofenden desmandados
Bajo la protection de los piqueros
Que van hombro con hombro, como digo
Hasta medir a pica al enemigo.

Si el escuadron primero que acometa,
Por fuerza viene a ser desbaratado,
Tan presto a socorrerle otro se mete,
Que casi no da tiempo a ser notado:

3:Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
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having been caused by that rising which took place in 1553. In the same year the rebellion of Don Sebastian de Castilla took place in the towns of La Plata and Potosi, and that of Francisco Hernandez Giron in Cuzco.

I have briefly related what the Spaniards of Chile wrote and said in Peru touching the battle and death of the Governor Pedro de Valdivia. It may be taken for what it is worth; and I have told the story out of its place because it is the most notable event that has happened throughout the Indies. I have told it briefly because I know not whether I shall find occasion to return to the affairs of Chile, and also because I fear lest I should not be able to reach the end of so great an undertaking as that of narrating the conquests achieved by the Spaniards in that kingdom.

CHAPTER XXV.

FURTHER UNFORTUNATE EVENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF CHILE.

I had written thus far, when they gave me fresh accounts of unfortunate and deplorable events which took place in Chile in the year 1599, and in Peru in 1600. Among other calamities they describe great earthquakes at Arequipa,[1] and how it had rained cinders for nearly twenty days out of the volcano. The cinders were in such quantity that in some

> Si aquel se durmiente, otro acuerdo,
> Y estando ya el primero reforzado,
> Movemos de un terrible no pensado
> Hasta ver lo que al otro le sucede.
>
> *Araucana*, Pte. I, Canto 1 (vol. I, p. 7, ed. Madrid, 1776).

[1] The first earthquake recorded at Arequipa, after the city was founded by Pizarro in 1540, was on January 2nd, 1582. The second great earthquake was that mentioned in the text, which took place on February 19th, 1600.

3:Garcilaso de la Vega 1-5 (ca. 1555) 1871
SE13 Inca
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places they fell to the thickness of a yard, and in others more than two, the least thickness being a quarter of a yard.[1] The vineyards and fields of maize and wheat were buried, and the larger trees, whether bearing fruit or not, withered; while all the flocks perished for want of pasture. The sand that thus fell, covered the ground for an extent of more than thirty leagues round Arequipa. They found the cattle lying dead by five hundreds in one place, and many sheep, goats, and pigs were buried. The houses fell in from the weight of the sand, and those that stood were preserved by the diligence of their owners, in removing the sand from the roofs. The thunder and lightning was such that the storm was heard for a circuit of thirty leagues round Arequipa. The sun was so obscured by the clouds of dust that the people had to use candles in the middle of the day. They wrote accounts of these things that happened in Arequipa and in its neighbourhood, and I have set down a very brief summary of what I heard from Peru. It will suffice, because the historians who narrate the events of that period, will be bound to describe what took place in more detail.

926 The misfortunes of Chile shall also be shortly described, according to the accounts written from thence, because they are relevant to what has already been said touching those Araucо Indians and their deeds, arising out of the insurrection of 1553, which continues until this day, and we are now entering upon the year 1603. We know not when that war will end; for it seems to gather new vigour and force from

[155] [1] The formation of the coast region nearest to Arequipa consists of granite with veins of quartz. But the plains are covered with large patches of very fine dust, consisting chiefly of silica, containing potash and soda, with small quantities of the *débris* of the rocks associated with the soil. Admiral Fitzroy suggested that this dust may be the ashes ejected from the Misti (the Arequipa volcano) at some remote period. See my *Travels in Peru and India*, p. 71. The account of the eruption, given in the text, seems to account for the presence of these large patches of fine dust.

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year to year. After forty-nine years of rebellion, and after waging a war of fire and sword during all that long time, they did what we are about to relate, which is taken word for word from a letter written by a citizen of Santiago do Chile. This letter reached me, together with the account of the calamities at Arequipa. They were sent me by a gentleman, a friend of mine who was in Peru, and served as a captain against the rebels in the kingdom of Quitus, who rose against the imposition of *alcabalas*.[1] He did good service to the Crown of Spain at that time. His name is Martin C—nço.[2] He heads his account of the unfortunate events in Chile with "News from Chile", and then continues as follows:—"When I had finished writing the above news about Arequipa, others of much greater importance arrived from Chile, which are as follows, written in the same way as they were received."

"Account of the loss and destruction of the city of Valdivia in Chile, which took place on Wednesday, the 24th of November, 1599. At dawn, on that day, a body of five thousand neighbouring Indians attacked the city. Some of

[1] The *Alcabala* (from the Arabic *cabala*, "a thing received") was a tax, originally in the form of a percentage on all sales. It was first granted to Alonso XI in 1342, for three years, in aid of the cost of taking Algeciras from the Moors. In 1349 the Cortes of Alcala again granted a twentieth to him; and in 1366 the Cortes of Burgos conceded a tenth. Future Spanish kings continued the *Alcabala* on the truths of sales.—Sabarauza, *Polit. Ind.*, lib. vi, cape viii, p. 972.

When Don Francisco de Toledo went out as Viceroy of Peru in 1568, he had instructions to impose a property tax, to be called *Alcabala*; but he did not consider the times propitious, and refrained from exercising his power on this point. But in 1591 the Viceroy Don Garcia de Mendoza (afterwards Marquis of Cañete) received similar orders, and imposed a property tax of two per cent., called *Alcabala*, throughout Peru. This new tax gave rise to seditious tumults in Quito, and the Viceroy sent Don Pedro de Arana with a force to quell them, who restored quiet and punished the ringleaders.—*Vida y Actos del Marques de Cañete*, Suarez de Figueroa, lib. iv, p. 188.

[2] Name in both editions. A letter must have dropped out.

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● 1720 them also came from the districts of Yaquiral, Pica, and Puruta. There were three thousand on horseback, and the rest on foot, more than sixty being armed with arquebuses, and upwards of two hundred in armour. They arrived at dawn by surprise, as they had spies in the city. They knew that the Spaniards were asleep in their houses, and there were no more than four men on guard, and two that went the rounds. They were off their guard, owing to two *Malcocs* (which is the name of incursions) that they had made twenty days before, when they attacked a fort of the Indians in the plain of Puquelon, and killed many of them. So they thought that there was no Indian within a circuit of eight leagues, as they had received a severe check. Then the Indians, having bribed their spies, advanced with the greatest audacity that Indians had ever shown. They came very secretly to the door of each house, with a number proportioned to those that they knew to be inside, and guarded the ends of the streets. Then they set fire to the houses and watched the doors, so that no one might escape. Within two hours they had devastated the town with fire and sword and captured the fort with the artillery, there being no one to defend it. The number of killed was four hundred Spaniards—men, women, and children. They took three hundred thousand dollars' worth of spoil, and did not leave a thing that was not destroyed or burnt. They cut adrift the vessels belonging to Vallano and Villarroel, and another owned by Diego de Rojas, that were lying in the river. A few people escaped in canoes, otherwise not one would have survived to tell the tale. This fierceness of the barbarians was aroused by the deaths of their comrades during former inroads, and because their women and children had been sold to merchants to be taken out of the country. They perpetrated this deed after having submitted for more than fifty years, been baptised, and lived under priests who instructed them in religion. It was the first time that they burnt

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the churches, making a great destruction of images of saints, and breaking them to pieces with sacrilegious hands. Ten days after this event the good Colonel Francisco del Campo arrived at the port of the city with a reinforcement of three hundred men, which his Excellency had sent from Peru to succour those cities. He lost there a son and a daughter, young children, whom he had left in charge of his sister-in-law, and who had been taken in this attack with the rest. As soon as he beheld the lamentable destruction of the city, he disembarked his people with great bravery, to go in aid of the cities of Osorno, Villarica, and the ill-fated Imperial, of which nothing was known save that a year before it had been surrounded by the enemy. It was reported that all were dead of hunger, having eaten the dead horses, and afterwards the dogs, cats, and skins of animals. This news was obtained from a messenger who was sent down the river by those in the city, praying for help; with mournful complaints from those unhappy people. After the said colonel had disembarked, he determined first to relieve the city of Osorno, because he knew that the enemy, after assaulting the city of Valdivia, would march to the city of Osorno to treat it in the same manner. The colonel gave assistance to Osorno, and did other good service. At the hour that I write this, news has arrived that the people of Imperial all perished of hunger, after a siege which lasted a year. Twenty men only escaped, whose fate was more hard than that of their dead companions, for, driven by hunger, they passed over to the side of the Indians. In Angol they killed four soldiers, but it is not known who they were. Our Lord have mercy upon us. Amen."

"Santiago de Chile, March 1600."

All the above intelligence arrived in Peru from the kingdom of Chile, and caused great sorrow throughout the country. Besides which, the Father Diego de Alca-

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bana,[1] whom I have already mentioned, in a letter which he wrote to me in the year 1601, among other things which he told me concerning that empire, uses these words touching the kingdom of Chile:—

"Chile is in very evil case, and the Indians are so expert and experienced in war, that there is not one who has not got a lance and a horse, and is not ready to attack any Spanish soldier, how valiant soever he may be. Every year troops are sent there from Peru; and many go, but none ever return. The Indians have taken two towns inhabited by Spaniards, and have killed all they found, carrying off the poor women and children, after first killing their fathers

[1] Diego de Alcobasa was a half-caste, born at Cuzco. His father Juan de Alcobasa, married an Indian girl, and he had an estate called Surihuaylla, on the site of the Yncas's aviary, a league south of Cuzco. He was a great friend of the elder Garcilasso de la Vega, and brought up his son, the young Inca, who was born in the same house with Diego. They were afterwards schoolfellows together at Cuzco. Juan de Alcobasa was a quiet, peaceable man, of blameless life, and took care of the family of the warlike Garcilasso, while he was engaged in civil wars. On one occasion, when Gonzalo Pizarro seized Cuzco and Garcilasso was of the opposite faction, the two Alcobasas, with the young Inca Garcilasso and his mother and sister, were blockaded in a house, and well-nigh starved. In 1560 the Inca Garcilasso went to Spain, and his old schoolfellow Diego de Alcobasa afterwards became a Jesuit priest and was actively engaged in preaching to the Indians, in which work he had great success, owing to his knowledge of the native languages. But the schoolfellows never forgot their old friendship, and constantly corresponded. When the Inca undertook his great work, Diego de Alcobasa sent him much valuable information. Doubtless we often unconsciously owe thanks to him for important facts, though the Inca only occasionally remembers to mention his indebtedness. The account of the Tiahuanaco ruins was obtained from Alcobasa (vol. i, p. 211), as well as the news from Chile given above. Early in 1608 Alcobasa also sent his old friend a *Confesionario*, which he had prepared and printed at Lima in 1585, in Spanish, in the language of the Incas (called Quichua), and in the language of the Collas (improperly called Aymara). Garcilasso criticises it in his second part. See I, Bk. v, cap. 30; Pte. II, Bk. i, cap. 19; and Pte. II, Bk. v, cap. 10. The *Confesionario* of Alcobasa is very scarce. I have never seen a copy, nor had Von Tschudi. *Kechua Sprache*, i, p. 36.

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and sons. Finally, they killed the Governor Loyola in an ambuscade. He it was who married a daughter of Don Diego Sayri Tupac Yupanqui,[1] who came forth from Villcapampa before you left the country. May God have mercy on the dead, and succour the living."

Thus far is from the letter of Father Alvarez, besides other and more that he wrote to me, which, being very horrible, I will omit. Among other things, he told me of the bad times at Arequipa, where wheat, in that year, sold at ten to eleven dueats, and maize at thirteen.

After all that has been said of Arequipa, its miseries still continue, from the inclemency of all the four elements, which cause damage there, as appears from the reports that the Fathers of the Holy Company of Jesus sent to their General in the year 1602. In the same reports they relate the still greater miseries of the kingdom of Chile. Their account was given to me by Father Francisco del Canto, a native of Granada, who in this year 1606 is master of the schools of the Second College of Cordova, and reads rhetoric to them. The account of the state of Chile, copied word for word, with its title, is as follows:—

with its title, is as follows:—

[1] Of the Ruminavis or the Araucos.

"Out of the thirteen cities which the Spaniards had in Chile, the Indians destroyed six, namely, Valdivia, Imperial, Angol, Santa Cruz, Chillan, and Concepcion. They destroyed the houses and churches, and overthrew the faith

[1] Don Martin Garcia de Loyola was nephew of the famous Ignatius Loyola. He married the Ynca Princess Clara Beatriz, daughter of Sayri Tupac, the son of Tupac Huanca, by Beatriz Coya Huanca, daughter of the Ynca Huascar. There is no glimmer of the faith and Christianity in the character of the Jesuits at Cuzco. Loyola was appointed Captain-General of Chile, where he was killed by the Araucanos, as mentioned in the text. His daughter by the Ynca Princess named Juana was married Maldonado of Oregano, and married Don Juan Rodriguez de Vargas, of the House of Carabia.

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and devotion which abode in them. The worst result was, that the audacity of the Indians increased with these victories, and made them look forward to committing greater havock and devastation, and to further destruction of cities and monasteries. They studied their evil devices and deceitful artifices, and surrounded the city of Osorno. The Spaniards retreated into a fort, where they were continuously besieged, and lived on seeds and leaves. During one of the sieges that the city endured, they broke the images of our Lord and of his Saints, through the infinite patience of God and his unutterable clemency. For he did not want power to chastise, but rather overflowed with mercy in tolerating and suffering this sacrilege. In the last siege of this fort, the Indians killed the sentries without being discovered by the Spaniards. They then entered and took the place, killing all the children, but sparing all the women and nuns to carry them off as captives. But, being covetous over their spoils and occupied with them, they gave an opportunity for the Spaniards to rally and attack them. It pleased God to grant them success, and they rescued the women and nuns, though with the loss of a few whom the Indians took with them. The last victory which the Indians obtained was the capture of Villarica, when many Spaniards were killed. The enemy set the place on fire at four different points, and killed all the monks of St. Dominick, St. Francis, and of our Lady of Mercy who were there, and all the clerics. They carried off as captives all the women, who were numerous and very well connected. Thus was destroyed a very rich city, and a place illustrious for the nobility of its citizens."

Such is the report from Chile, that arrived in the end of the year 1604; concerning which I know not what to say, except that these are secret judgments of God, who alone knows why He permits them. With this we will return to the good Ynca Yupanqui, and relate the little that remains to be said touching his life.